1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Purification of the land when some one is sold: When a person sells
567 a son or a brother, he may not tell the *Ten'dan'*, nor will the latter take
783 any notice, but sooner or later some misfortune will befall the vendor,
793 or some of his family; and on consulting the *bay* (soothsayer) he will be
593 informed that his having sold some one is the cause; he will be advised to give a cow, sheep, or goat to the *Ten'dan'*. He will give the offering to the land, saying: 'My father, there was a famine, and some one sold his own son, and he has brought these things. Receive them and prevent headache and belly-ache, and give them to the land.'

769 I asked my informant why he used his father's spirit as an inter-
793 mediary. He replied, 'My ancestor knew the land before myself; all
783 our ancestors are in the ground, which is a *bagere'* (shrine).

*Duties of the Ten'dan' in Connexion with the Making of a New Farm*:
793 The man about to make a new farm will sacrifice to his ancestor through
782 the head of his compound. He will then take a fowl to the *kpasodan*[1]
241 (the tenant of that land) who will give the offering to his ancestor.
427 This tenant had originally approached the *Ten'dan'* before acquiring the land, and the sub-tenant, therefore, apparently need not again do so. A *Ten'dan'*, on giving land to any one for the first time, will ask for fowls (not white ones), one for the land, one for his father. 'After sacrificing, I will conduct the man to the land, take a hoe, break the ground, and tell the man that he may begin cultivating. I show him the boundaries of his farm. I need not tell him that anything he finds on the land is mine; he knows that already. He knows, too, that if he ever refuses to allow any one to pass over his land, or if he is greedy about his crops, not giving some to those who are hungry, I have the power to drive him from the land.'

793 'The *Ten'dan'* makes the land good.' 'The *Ten'dan'* owns (or rather
425 owned, for in many places I found this ancient prerogative usurped by the Chiefs) all lost cows, sheep, goats, donkeys, fowls, iron, hoes, axes, and brass ornaments. A *Ten'dan'* is never succeeded by his brother
[292] or by his son. This hat [referring to the distinctive string hat worn by *Ten'dan'*] is not a rich thing. Any one in a section may become *Ten'dan'*.'

Again: 'When the Mampruse, under *Misore*, first came here, they captured a man near a well who said he was the *Ten'dan'* of Gbeo. Later on *Misore* found other *Ten'dam'* at Bare, Ka, and Kundugu. He did not kill them, but appointed them to sacrifice to the land and show him her *kyibir* (avoidances, Nankane *kyisiri*), and rights—avoidance of blood, right of *Ten'dan'* to lost property or anything found on the

[1] Nankane, *Kusoodana*.

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793 he would ask the *Ten'dan'* and be given a place to build, or a place to farm. After the harvest of the early millet, they would send millet to give "water" to the groves, and so too, after the corn harvest. If [783] blood came from any one, except from the nose, and fell upon the land, the *Ten'dan'* had to purify it. If Chiefs sold any man in exchange for [567] cattle, the *Ten'dan* was given one to give to the land, but when people were sold in a time of famine in exchange for food it was not customary to give anything, but the land would be angry and kill a member of that family who had sold their kinsman, even (extending its vengeance) to a member of their daughter's family who had married far away. [772] The land is a female and "above" is a male. When I sacrifice I call upon my father to "reach" his father who will "reach" the grove. Birth, crops, the getting of wives, good sleep, depend upon the land, [621] who tells *Wen* (God). When two people were about to fight, and the *Ten'dan'* went to stop them, he would lay down his staff between them and no man might shoot arrows over that. The staff is a corn stalk. Any one who disregarded that would die. *Tobeg'* and *taku'* have not anything to do with the *Ten'dan'*.

### *The Position of the Ten'dan' in Cases of Adultery, Theft, Murder, and Suicide.*

684 624 *Adultery*: 'The head of the section settled such cases; it was not formerly a Chief's concern.'

685 624 *Theft*: 'In case of theft, the thief, if caught, would be taken to the one who "owned" (i.e. was responsible for) him, who would settle the matter. If the parties could not agree, the matter was taken to the head of the section, who would take it if necessary to [777] the Chief. Since Europeans came we have the *Kambon-nab'*.'[2]

622 793 628 *Murder*: 'If a man from Nangoot was killed (murdered?) by a man from (say) Pelino, and the slayer was caught, he would be killed by those who chased him. Afterwards, the Pelino people would bring cows, and the people of Nangoot also, and give to the Chief who would then give some to the *Ten'dan'*, keeping the remainder to purify his [783] skins. There is a hole below the skin on which a Chief sits for the blood to flow. The family who had had a member murdered did not receive anything. The Pelino people and the Nangoot people concerned would mix the flour and water which each will bring and make peace. Were the Pelino man, in such a case, to escape, and if the

[1] See Chapter XXVIII.

[2] According to the Chief, these officials were part of the old administration.

* [Nankanse concepts apply to persons who have directly and INdirectly committed a murder — Analyst]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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of descent. The status of an attached lineage is always somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, there is nothing derogatory, by native standards, in the link through a woman, as will be more fully appreciated when we come to the domestic side of Tale social structure.[1] It is but an accident of birth, argue the natives, which made their ancestress a woman instead of a man; otherwise they might have been as much members of the unbroken patrilineal line as the authentic lineages. This explains why attached lineages do not hesitate to advertise their identity by holding to distinctive ritual usages and traditions of origin, and why they may, as at Sie, have a place in the social structure which makes use of their genealogical position. The 'accident of birth' is capitalized as a factor of social organization. On the other hand, there is no escaping the fact that it bars the attached lineage from complete absorption by the authentic line. Its members are debarred from the privileges which are indefeasibly bound up with the unbroken agnatic line and symbolize the uniqueness of this line. They could not at Tongo, for example, participate in sacrifices to Mosuor until recently (see below, pp. 54–5), and they cannot succeed to the custody of his *bɔyar*. They can join in sacrifices to the founding ancestor of the authentic lineage-segment to which they are directly attached; but they cannot hold the custody of his *bɔyar*. The Tongo chiefship is of course rigorously closed to them. All these are crucial values, and to be excluded from the rights and privileges associated with them is a distinct disability. The rights which an attached lineage has in the sub-clan are in part a concession. Thus, though its status need never be glossed over, it cannot be vaunted.

Assimilated lineages, by contrast, cannot be discriminated by means of an explicitly accepted modification in the canon of agnatic descent, since they are always regarded as having sprung from 'strangers' (*saan*, pl. *saam*), slaves or refugees. To incorporate them in the lineage structure of the sub-clan there is no alternative but to assimilate them by a fiction. A male slave is thus incorporated into his master's family and a refugee into that of his protector. Homeless and kinless, they must be endowed with a new social personality and given a definite place in the community. But the bond of actual paternity cannot be fabricated; the fiction is a makeshift and always remains so. A slave or a refugee can never acquire the one right which is conferred exclusively by the tie of blood, or as the Tallensi say, of begetting (*dɔyam*), the right to offer sacrifice directly, as the owner (*daana*) of his shrine (*bayɔr*)[2] to the spirit of the patron whom he has described in his lifetime as his father (*ba*). In this respect they have no advantage over matrilateral kin, for a man's spirit can receive direct sacrifice only from his agnatic posterity. Like matrilateral kin, also, an adopted slave is barred from rights of inheritance and succession that are confined to the agnatic line, even though he is for all practical purposes the child (*bii*) of his patron in a way that a matrilateral kinsman could never be.

[1] This is dealt with in the second part of this study, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*.

[2] *Bayɔr* (pl. *bayɔ*) is the generic term for any ancestor or medicine shrine; *bɔyar* (pl. *bɔyɔ*) is the special shrine dedicated to the founding ancestor of a lineage.

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Assimilated lineages, therefore, all over Taleland, though thoroughly absorbed into the structure of the sub-clan or clan, suffer the same disabilities as the more precisely differentiated attached lineages; they cannot, however, make a virtue of this, as the latter sometimes can; they cannot explain away their status. To tax a person, openly or explicitly, with being the descendant of a slave (*da'abɔr bii*) is one of the deadliest insults, however remote his slave ancestry may be. This is more than a matter of etiquette. It amounts, in certain circumstances, to blasphemy against the spirit of the man who originally adopted this slave ancestor. Thus, under this rule of courtesy to clansmen and respect for ancestors, the status of an assimilated lineage is never commented on publicly unless a serious issue hangs on it or a severe quarrel is involved. This exceptional circumspection about assimilated lineages shows better than anything else their ambiguous position in the clan.

Such elements of the social structure as these are not apparent at first glance. I did not discover the existence of assimilated lineages at Tongo until the end of my first year in the field. To do so it was essential to have a very thorough understanding of the way the lineage system works and of the internal structure of the Tale community. I was able then to notice and to be puzzled by the absence, or self-effacement, of certain people in situations where they would normally be representing their lineage segments. It was not the behaviour to be expected of them if their segments were of equal status with the authentic segments of Mosuor biis. Veiled hints began to have a meaning which confidential informants confirmed.

One of my earliest friends and frankest informants at Tongo was Sayɔbazaa, an elder in whom the chief had the greatest confidence and who was universally esteemed for his industry and probity. Sayɔbazaa was the head (*kpeem*) of Nɔŋsuur yidɛm, a major segment of one of the major segments of Tongo. One of its members held an important and confidential office under the chief. Nɔŋsuur yidɛm appeared to be of the true agnatic line of Mosuor. I took this for granted the more readily because, when the Great Festival season came round and all the elders of Tongo were summoned to the chief's house so that a diviner could be consulted, it was Sayɔbazaa who consulted the diviner on behalf of the chief and the whole of Tongo, in order to ascertain what offerings must be given to Mosuor and the chiefly ancestors.

Nevertheless, Nɔŋsuur yidɛm is an assimilated lineage whose founding ancestor is vaguely said to have arrived with Mosuor. Though almost completely absorbed by the authentic line of Mosuor biis, a last barrier remains, which I discovered only through one of the most striking of the events which revealed the existence and status of accessory lineages at Tongo. It showed also how there is a continuous process of adjustment going on in every sector of the social structure, resolving the tensions and contradictions latent in it.

It was an occasion of historic importance marking the climax of one phase in the absorption of the accessory lineages by the authentic lineages of Tongo. The occasion was that of the great thanksgiving sacrifice to the founding ancestors of Tongo, Mosuor and his son Sɛyaheg, which took place in 1936. Beer and animals were contributed by the chief, who gave

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forefathers in that way (*ti ku zaŋ ti banam bah ŋwala*)'. Some of the younger men of Yapaas were merely being tiresome. 'You'll see', countered the man who had spoken earlier, sceptically, 'some day there will be a quarrel over something, the division of meat at a sacrifice, or the inheritance of a widow, or something of that sort, and then you people of Zubiuŋ will split up.'

Meanwhile, we continued to wait for the Yapaasdɛm, for the ritual could not be performed without the presence of their representatives. In due course they arrived. Far from expressing contrition, they excused themselves by accusing the others of having bungled the sequence of the rites. A violent argument followed, but one of the elders cut it short. No doubt, he said, the Yapaasdɛm preferred a different order of the rites. That was their affair. The senior lineages had no intention of copying them. To-day the ceremonies were *their* concern, and now that all the lineages were properly assembled they might as well get on with the business.

*Linked Maximal Lineages and the Field of Clanship*

Corresponding to this structural differentiation within the clan, each maximal lineage has its distinct field of clanship. One segment of Yakɔradɛm, known as Pulien biis, is an attached lineage descended from a 'sister's son' of the authentic lineage. Another segment (Zaŋgɔbɔg yidɛm) is an assimilated lineage, said to be of slave descent. Members of this segment are debarred from holding the tɛndaana-ship. Pulien biis have the right to hold the office, but mainly in a titular capacity, for they are barred from its most essential responsibilities. In other respects these accessory lineages have been fully absorbed by the authentic line of Yakɔradɛm, and participate in all the corporate activities of the latter.

The Yakɔradɛm have ties of clanship with Gbizug, which counts as the senior segment of Gbeog, and is bound to Gbeog proper by the usual ties of clanship. But there are no ties of clanship between Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra and Gbeog proper. They may not marry a daughter of Gbizug; they may and do marry Gbeog women, who would of course be barred by the rule of exogamy from marrying into Gbizug. Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra also have ties of clanship with Ba'at-Sakpar, one of the major segments of the clan of Ba'ari; but they have no ties of clanship with any of the other Ba'ari maximal lineages. Similarly, they have ties of clanship with Zoo-Yiraaŋ, but not with the Namoo lineage of Zoodɛm proper. The other two component maximal lineages of Zubiuŋ are excluded from this field of clanship. For instance, they can and do marry Gbizug, Ba'at-Sakpar, and Zoo-Yiraaŋ women.

These extra-clan ties of clanship are rationalized in various ways. Gbizug and Ba'at-Sakpar claim to be the consanguineous kin (*dɔŋam*) of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra, because, as the myth of the primordial tɛndaanas relate, the founding ancestors of all three lineages were 'brothers'. The Zoo-Yiraaŋdɛm are claimed as kin (*dɔŋam*) of the latter because their founding ancestor is said to have been a 'sister's son' of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra. It should be noted that such a remote cognatic link does not in every case establish ties of clanship. The same fiction is used to account for the existence of

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weather causes anxiety about the crops; for famine is the greatest social 241
calamity they can imagine and is a very real menace. I have heard people 731
speak of the last great famine that swept the country, some forty years ago, with a poignancy that made one realize how deeply dread of famine is stamped into the native's outlook on life. 'It is our black man's thing this (*ti gbansablɔg yɛl n-a-de*)', they say, 'from the days of our fathers and forefathers'—or, as we might put it, it is a law of nature for the black man. 'The white man has saved us. If there is hunger now we can buy grain from Mampurugu or Kusaa.' Sombrely they describe how in times [261]
of famine people ate grass and weeds fit only for animals, and died on the footpaths. Men deserted wife and child to seek sustenance among distant relatives who had a little food. They took their own children to [567]
sell into slavery among the Mamprusi for food. The social order broke down completely.

Sufficient crops of the staple cereals mean survival, good crops mean 796
joy to the Tallensi. They show it in the Harvest Festival that marks the 535
end of the farming year. If the harvest is poor, they say, people attend the dances perfunctorily and dance without enthusiasm. But in a good year, as I saw in 1936, no one can be held back from the dances. Young mothers steal out to them with their babes in their arms, sedate elders fling themselves into the rout with the zest and energy of striplings. There is a general feeling of elation. 'Our bodies are full of strength (*ti nɛŋ kpɛŋya*)', is how the natives describe it.

A successful farming year not only provides for the satisfaction of the 241
fundamental physical needs of existence; it gives security to the social 182
order. There is ample evidence of this in the busy and cheerful atmosphere of the market-places, and, more significantly, in the spate of ceremonial activities that follows on a satisfactory harvest; for all Tale ceremonial activities express and fortify relationships of amity and interdependence. For the individual the physical well-being of himself and his dependants—sufficiency of food, good health, and the increase of offspring—is a sign that all is well with the social order. The ritual symbols in which the forces that shape Tale social organization and keep it on a steady course are objectified and made emotionally tangible go back to this fact of native experience. The stereotyped formula with [782]
which a prayer offered at any shrine is usually concluded epitomizes this: 'Grant that fields be farmed (fruitfully), that live-stock breed, that offspring be born, that (undisturbed) sleep be slept (*Kye ka kuo kɔ, ka guul guul, ka dɔɣam dɔɣa, ka guom gbis*).'

### *Productive Efficiency and the Bounds set by Nature*

Now what does the achievement of sufficiency of food and general 731
physical well-being depend upon? It is quite clear, from the way the 241
natives carry on their agricultural activities and the way they think and talk about them that, other things being equal, they consider skill and industry to be the main factors of efficiency. But variations in efficiency between a *pukpaa*, a slothful farmer, and a proper *kpa'at*, an industrious hoe-man, mean only a difference in their respective standards of consumption. One has rather less food and other goods than the other.

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the earth (*tɛyɔnpiima*)'. As we have previously noted, any article or stray animal, the owner of which is unknown, is a *tɛyɔnpiimɔr*. It must be handed to a tɛndaana. The rule applies to stray fowls, goats, sheep, and especially to objects of iron; and it is most scrupulously observed. A hoe or an axe, for instance, can safely be left lying about on a farm. Tallensi speak with awe of the sacrilege of appropriating a 'thing found on the Earth'. They say that swift retribution invariably overtakes a sinner, and they quote the example of those who occasionally break the taboo, by accident or purposely. It is particularly heinous to take anything found near an Earth shrine, where the mystical power of the Earth is directly localized. Even children are fearful of picking up bits of rubbish near *tɔŋbana*. Breaches of Earth taboos serve, in the long run, to increase the respect in which they are held. The native is constantly reminded, by these taboos, that the useful, material earth is only the façade of the universal mystical Earth. They remind him that the security and satisfaction he derives from the utilization of the earth's resources are conditional upon his moral behaviour.

We have examined the relation of the concept of the Earth in its mystical aspect to the great public calamities that threaten the physical basis of the existence of the natives. But this concept has a positive side, too. When men do not offend it, the Earth permits crops to flourish, women to bear children, and men's enterprises to succeed. Locusts, Tallensi say, when they rationalize the powers they attribute to the Earth, come up out of the earth; tornadoes sweep across its surface; but, also, crops grow on the earth; homesteads stand on it; men walk on it; out of it they dig the roots they use to cure their illnesses and make magical defences for themselves; in it they bury their dead. All these services of the material earth have their reflex in the ritual values attached to the mystical Earth.

All Tallensi stand in awe of the Earth. We have learnt that they speak of it as 'a living thing', meaning by this that it intervenes mystically in human affairs in the same way as the ancestor spirits do. When they talk of the Earth they mention its remorseless punishment of sacrilege, and the things it prohibits, not its blessings. Yet it is the symbol to them of the forces that promote the common welfare of all mankind without discrimination. Thus a wandering stranger is a 'thing found on the earth'; but he is given to a chief and not to a tɛndaana. Chiefs are ritually qualified to sell a human being into slavery; a tɛndaana would commit a sacrilege against the Earth if he did so. As the priest of the Earth it is his duty to protect human beings, keep the peace among them, and be watchful against the dangers that threaten them. The dog lives in such close association with man that it has quasi-human qualities, and therefore stray dogs must also be surrendered to chiefs. And this holds for stray cattle, too, which are also closely identified with man owing to their great economic value and their special importance as sacrificial animals.

Everywhere, too, the Earth forbids the shedding of blood in strife, and, in the neighbourhood of important Earth shrines, the raising of the alarm signal (a long-drawn-out, high-pitched cry *yɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-hi*) as a call to arms, and therefore to bloodshed. Men who transgress have to pay heavy

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adapted by stages to changes in its internal composition due to the passage of time or the cumulative effects of social and economic pressure, without bursting its form.

Solidarity within the clan or the lineage is governed by the field principle. It is a function of the situation; and it is a function, also, of the segmentary relationship of each unit involved to other like units, to more inclusive units, and to the whole social structure. The complex of thought, feeling, action, and expression we designate as the sentiment of solidarity is evoked in different degrees in accordance with the sector of the social structure engaged. It reflects the range of common interests evoked in the situation and the strength of the common values.

Within the clan, or any segment of it, the sentiment of solidarity is a constant motive of conduct and a regular criterion by which the individual evaluates the behaviour of others. We have seen how it grows out of the lifelong association of lineage kin in daily life. Hence a Talɔŋ identifies himself by reference to his clan settlement and the segment of his clan to which he belongs. He speaks of his clansmen as 'our folk (*ti yidɛm*)' and of their wives and children as 'our wives (*ti pɔyaba*)' and 'our children (*ti biis*)'. In the old days of warfare, as in market brawls or hunting expeditions to-day, a Talɔŋ never stops to question the rights or wrongs of an argument in which a clansman of his is involved with a non-clansman, or a close agnate with a distant agnate. He immediately takes his clansman's or close agnate's part.

The unity of a clan or a lineage is not only a vital fact of experience for its members but the principal concept by which other corporate groups define it in jural, political, and ritual relations. Thus in the old days a creditor could raid the live-stock of any clansman of his debtor, but not those of a neighbour of his debtor who belonged to a different clan. In the latter case a reprisal raid was the penalty. In the former case the victim of the raid could demand restitution from his clansman, the original debtor; and I know of men who pawned a child or sold him into slavery in order to find the means of repaying a clansman who had been raided, rather than let the affair become a source of conflict in the clan. This is a good illustration, incidentally, of the statement previously made that collective responsibility is not a principle of Tale jural relations. It is not the clan but the debtor himself who is responsible for his debt. Self-help is a technique for putting pressure on a debtor through the mechanisms of clan and lineage cohesion.

The same principle appears in the abduction of wives of distant unrelated clans. Thus Pal of Zubiuŋ abducted the wife of a Yinduuri man. He claimed that this was merely 'cancelling a debt (*lɛrɔg samɔr*)'. Some years earlier a distant clansman of the Yinduuri man had abducted the wife of one of Pal's clansmen and this 'debt' had now been cancelled. The point is, not that all Yinduuri was held responsible for the original wrong, but that every wife is a gain to the clan as a whole and the loss of a wife is a loss to the clan as a whole. If a clan wishes to avoid reprisals such as those taken by Pal, men of the clan must not countenance the abduction of wives by any of their fellows. It is like the avenging of a clansman's death at the hands of men of another clan in the old days.

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of no case, in recent years, of this having occurred. Public sentiment would not be sympathetic to it, since he is felt to be so closely connected with the clan.

It sometimes happens that a woman who has an illegitimate child takes it with her when she gets married, and the child is brought up in her husband's house. Enwala's illegitimate son, Kumahe, grew up thus under the care of her husband, Yɛanbɔrəgya. The boy and his stepfather were greatly attached to each other. Kumahe farmed with Yɛanbɔrəgya like his own sons, and was treated like a son in the ordinary affairs of the household. When he began courting a daughter of his stepfather's clan, Yɛanbɔrəgya gave him fatherly support and counsel. But when Kumahe's prospective parents-in-law asked for an advance payment on the bride-price, Yɛanbɔrəgya neither provided it nor took responsibility for it. For Kumahe had not acquired filial status in Yɛanbɔrəgya's lineage, and the responsibility for the payment of bride-price on his behalf rested with his jural guardian, his mother's brother. Kumahe belongs to his mother's clan, and both he, his stepfather, and his mother's brother told me, at different times, that he would undoubtedly return one day to live amongst this clan.

The status of a male slave (*da'abɔr*) in former times was similar, though in some respects less advantageous. The Tallensi seem to have kept few slaves.[1] It is said that a man usually bought a male slave if he lacked a son to help him with his farming and to support him in his old age. Slaves were never natives of Taleland but hapless strangers from other parts of the Northern Territories found wandering in the country. Having no kinsfolk in Taleland to protect them they fell a prey to anyone who chanced to encounter them. Their only security lay in the taboo that made it obligatory for them to be handed over to chiefs, who alone had the ritual status entitling men to sell fellow men. To fit them into the social structure they were incorporated into the family and lineage of their owners by being placed under the spiritual guardianship of one of their owner's lineage ancestors' shrines. This gave a slave a quasi-filial status of the same kind, with the same rights and disabilities, as an illegitimate son's.

In his social relations with his quasi-paternal family and clan a slave was indistinguishable from an illegitimate member of the group. In a quarrel he might be abused as a slave—'a bought thing (*bonda'abɔr*)'—and his quasi-clansmen would be inclined to regard him with a kind of patronizing contempt. But his owner would take up the cudgels for him as energetically as for one of his own sons if he were wantonly

[1] When they are questioned on the subject, men of 50–60 can usually quote one or two slaves they knew of in their childhood, never more. The impression I got from talks with many people was that there were never more than five or six male slaves living at any one time in Tongo, and correspondingly fewer in smaller settlements.

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567 insulted or molested; for it was held to be both good policy and a moral duty to treat a slave no differently from a son. As the ward of the lineage ancestors, he had a place and a moral status in the lineage; but, Tallensi say, he was bound to harbour some resentment at his invidious social position, and would certainly try to abscond if he were ill-used.

These ideas are as active as ever among the Tallensi; for a few ex-slaves still survive, and there are one or two sons, grandsons, and remoter agnatic descendants of slaves in many settlements, who, by the lineage principle, retain their ancestors' social status in a much attenuated form. These people have exactly the same place in society that they would have occupied in former times. To judge by their participation in social activities, both profane and ceremonial, there is no obvious distinction between them and other members of the clan. They are as loyal and patriotic members of the clan as any other members of it. Wɔla of Zoo always took a leading part in the public affairs and ceremonial activities of Zoo. I was surprised to discover accidentally that he was an ex-slave. I was told on excellent authority that he is still often teased about his slave status, but that he takes it in good part, saying that since the coming of the white man a slave is as good a man as his neighbour. Usually no one would so affront a man and his quasi-relatives as to refer pointedly to his slave status or descent if he did not provoke it by offensive conduct. Wrongly to accuse a person of slave descent, if only by implication, is a deadly insult. And even those of whom it is true never voluntarily betray it. Not everyone has Wɔla's aggressive sense of humour, and good manners require that tact and discretion be exercised in such delicate matters of social standing.

Analogously, a slave girl's (*da'abpɔk*) status resembled that of an illegitimate daughter. She was taken in marriage like any other girl, so her children had no disabilities in respect of their patrilineal connexions. They regarded their mother's quasi-paternal kin as their maternal uncle's lineage. But I have records of cases in which the descendants of a slave woman have sought out her true paternal kin in a distant land in order to establish correct ritual ties with them.

567 602 All the men with whom I discussed the question affirmed without hesitation that it would be disgraceful and immoral to treat a slave, or an illegitimate son or brother, differently from true agnatic kin. But they all emphasized, nevertheless, that a slave or an illegitimate son cannot possibly become a son or a brother in the full sense of these terms. He can be to you *in loco filii* or *fratris* but not *filius* or *frater*, since he cannot sacrifice directly to his quasi-father's spirit or inherit, [842] as of right, his patrimony. The principle at issue is that physical father and social father, *genitor* and *pater*, must be the same person. The vicissitudes of marriage illustrate the same point.

611 842 It often happens that a young woman becomes the bride of one man, is later married to another man, by whom she conceives or has a

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young man was a lazy spendthrift and there was constant trouble between the two. One day Dɛŋkumis forcibly stopped him from beating his wife and he turned and struck Dɛŋkumis. There was an uproar, for other men of the lineage set upon Dmaarəb with sticks and fists. Next day Dɛŋkumis, followed by all the men of his lineage segment, dragged the delinquent to the chief. As it was a *dugni yɛl*, an affair of the inner lineage, the chief dealt with it as head of the clan. Trembling with anger and contempt he read the youth an excoriating homily on how a person ought to behave to his parents. Dɛŋkumis, ended the chief, had been too patient with the worthless scamp just because he was his brother's son. Let him beware. Another action of this kind, and Dɛŋkumis would be commanded to throw him out of his house.

Another story deserves recording as an example of the working of filial piety. Kuŋaaŋba was born when his father was an old man. At that time a famine swept the country. A distant clansman of his father seized his mother and her babe to sell them into slavery and recoup himself for a debt owed to him by Kuŋaaŋba's father. But the woman managed to escape. When the famine was over she returned home to find her husband dead and his brother Gəlime at the head of the household. Gəlime, however, disregarding the rule that whoever inherits a man's property and status must take over his duties and liabilities, at first refused to have her back. She was like a corpse that had come to life again, he said. But his own wife, with an independence of spirit that Tale women often show, threatened to leave him if he did not take her co-wife and the child back, so he gave in. In due course Kuŋaaŋba's mother remarried one of her late husband's classificatory brothers, under whose care the boy grew up. Jurally and ritually Gəlime remained his 'father'. Then Kuŋaaŋba went to work for the white man at Kumasi. He returned with a quantity of clothes, a bag of salt, and three or four pounds in cash. He found Gəlime, now an old man in decline, left almost destitute, as his own sons, whom he had always treated with severity, had both run away to the Colony. Kuŋaaŋba at once took the old man to his own house. He gave him a cloth to wear, bought a supply of grain for him, and left him some money when he himself departed for another spell of work abroad. Thereafter Kuŋaaŋba took care of Gəlime as if he were his own father until the end of his life. 'For', said Kuŋaaŋba, as he concluded his simple tale, 'was he not my father? What did it matter that he had treated me badly in my childhood, since I am still alive and healthy? I couldn't leave my father to die of starvation just because his own sons were wastrels.' I asked Kuŋaaŋba if Gəlime had ever expressed remorse for having neglected his duty to him in his childhood. 'No,' was the answer, 'he would not do that. He would keep it to himself but his heart would be sore (*u suh subum*). And now that he is dead he will (as a spirit) do good to me.' It was true, commented an elder who had listened to the story; a son who had